## FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

An interpretation of current international events by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated

22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Vol. XXIII, No. 14

JANUARY 21, 1944

### TWO-FRONT WAR WILL IMPOSE FINAL TEST ON GERMAN RESERVES

WITH final preparations for the Anglo-American invasion of Western Europe nearing completion and the Russian winter offensive gaining momentum, the Nazis face the prospect of a two-front land war in which decisive victories can be inflicted on the German armies from two directions. A successful landing in northern France, coupled with continued pressure from the east, will bring the war in Europe to a climax, for it will force the German high command to risk everything in an effort to stem Allied advances before they reach Germany itself.

SOVIET GAINS NOT DECISIVE. Although Moscow announced on January 16 a new offensive in the north below Lake Ilmen-an offensive which may force the Germans to fall back to a line running from Riga to the Pripet Marshes via the Dvina river—the most vital sector still appears to be in the south. The northern wing of the two-pronged offensive launched from Kiev several weeks ago has now passed Sarny in eastern Poland, and the southern wing threatens German rail lines at Vinnitsa and Zhmerinka. If the Red Army should cross the Bug river and capture Zhmerinka, the German forces in the bend of the Dnieper would be almost entirely cut off from the armies in Poland, and would undoubtedly endeavor to retreat to the Dniester. Russian confidence that they can force such a withdrawal, if not actually trap the southern German armies, is indicated by the way in which Red Army leaders have exposed the spearhead at Sarny and the thrust toward Zhmerinka to counterattack.

But there is no evidence yet that the Germans have suffered a decisive defeat on this front. Although paying a heavy price in material, manpower, and exhaustion of their reserves, they have managed so far to keep their armies in being and avoid a disaster such as they suffered at Stalingrad. Until they have been forced back to crucial areas like the Rumanian oil fields, Silesia and western Poland, they

will probably attempt to save their armies at the expense of territory.

A CROSS-CHANNEL INVASION. Preparations for the invasion of western Europe are now under the direct supervision of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme commander of Allied forces in Britain, who reached London over the week-end of January 15-16 after conferring in Washington with President Roosevelt and in Morocco with Prime Minister Churchill. Eisenhower will have as his chief of staff, Major General Walter B. Smith; as deputy commander, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder; as director of air operations, Air Chief Marshal T. L. Leigh-Mallory; and as chief of naval operations, Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay. General Montgomery, in command of all British ground forces, will once more match wits with Marshal Rommel, while it seems likely that Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, commander of United States ground forces in the European theatre, will renew the duel with Rommel which began in Tunisia. It can be expected that Eisenhower will weld his Anglo-American staff into a smooth-running machine just as he did in North Africa.

The Allied Expeditionary Force faces one of the most hazardous operations in military annals. The limited range of both fighter aircraft and landing barges will in all probability dictate a cross-channel invasion, which means a landing somewhere between the mouth of the Scheldt and the mouth of the Seine, probably in France because of the shore line and the presence of essential harbors. Other parts of the European coast from Denmark to the Pyrenees should not be entirely excluded, for a mass invasion far from the British base, impossible as it appears, might be attempted. Regardless of the spot chosen, invasion can hardly take place until late March or early April, when the weather will be favorable and Allied preponderance in the air assured.

It need not be assumed, however, that the western Allies will concentrate all their forces on a single assault. The air offensive over Germany will probably be stepped up, both to weaken German production and to draw off all possible fighter strength from the invasion area. At the same time, continued pressure can be expected in Italy, and probably one or more diversionary attacks against Norway, Denmark, Brittany, southern France, or the Balkans. It is unlikely that large forces will be used in any such attack, however, since its primary purpose will be to draw off part of Germany's strategic reserves while the main attack is being launched. For, once a bridgehead is established, the chief purpose of the Allied forces will be not so much the reconquest of territory as the destruction of the German armies, and this will require a concentration of force which will forbid extensive operations elsewhere.

In Western Europe, unlike the eastern front, the German high command will not be in a position to

retreat without jeopardizing an area vital both economically and strategically, an area which belongs to what has been called the "German heartland." Apart from Germany itself, this term is applied to territory which includes Denmark, the Low Countries, northern France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, northern Yugoslavia, and western and central Poland. Loss of any of these areas would threaten Germany's ability to continue the struggle, and it is expected that the high command will risk decisive battles to defend them. If in the east the Russian armies reach vital areas of Rumania or Poland at the same time that Anglo-American forces move directly into northern France, decisive actions will develop on both fronts. The German Army's ability to hold out will then depend largely on the strength of its reserves. When these are used up, an Allied victory will not be far off.

HOWARD P. WHIDDEN

#### DUTCH AND BRITISH PLEDGE END OF OPIUM SMOKING MONOPOLY

[The F.P.A. Opium Research Committee has been closely in touch with the developments discussed in the article below, and has played a useful part in bringing informed American opinion to bear upon the discussions.—Editor.]

The Netherlands government on October 1, 1943 and the British government on November 10, 1943 announced that opium-smoking under government license (the government monopoly system) will end in all Far Eastern territories which may be returned after the war to Dutch and British control. This change in policy removed a difference of opinion between the two countries on the one hand, and China and the United States on the other, which has caused serious difficulty since the Hague Convention of 1912 whenever international efforts have been made to advance the fight against the abuse of opium and dangerous drugs.

RESULTS OF LEAGUE ACTION. The machinery of the League of Nations has proved effective in limiting the manufacture and controlling the commerce in drugs made from opium. Even during the war, the controls established for peacetime conditions have remained in force in those areas of the world where the United Nations exercise administrative authority. The Drug Supervisory Body reports in its annual statement for 1944 that 53 countries out of a possible 71 have sent in advance estimates of their medical needs to this control body established under League of Nations' auspices.

But the next step in international progress—limitation of the planting of the opium poppy to supply only the medical and scientific needs of the world—has been delayed by the continuation of government

monopolies for smoking opium. No definite figure for the amount of raw opium to be used by these monopolies could be determined until general agreement was reached as to the rate of annual reduction and length of time during which they were to be continued. No total for raw opium could therefore be settled upon, although the amount-400 tons-necessary for manufacture into medicine and scientific uses was already known. The smoking-opium requirements were the unknown X of the equation. This X is now removed, as far as Dutch and British monopolies are concerned. In view of the united policy of the Allies, it is not probable that French Indo-China or Thailand will continue the monopoly system after the war, nor is it likely that the monopoly system will be continued in Formosa. What will occur in Burma cannot be predicted until the whole Indian situation is further clarified.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT POSSIBLE. The way is now open for an international agreement between the principal countries which grow and export the raw material—Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Iran—and the important drug-manufacturing countries. It is hoped that a plan may be evolved informally so that a draft convention can be presented for consideration at the end of the war. This is post-war planning in its most immediate and practical aspect.

The new policy by the Netherlands and Great Britain is a concrete sign of a liberal and constructive trend with respect to post-war colonial administration, and augurs well for further decisions in these areas.

HELEN HOWELL MOORHEAD

#### THE F.P.A. BOOKSHELF

Lend-Lease, by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. New York, Macmillan, 1944. \$3.00

An extremely interesting account of the origin and development of lend-lease, told by the former Lend-Lease Administrator and present Under Secretary of State. In presenting the way in which mutual aid has been used to pool the war supplies of the United Nations, this book makes an important contribution to the history of World War II. Maps, charts, pictograms and photographs add to the interest and value of the volume.

Jane's Fighting Ships, 1942, edited by Francis E. McMurtrie. New York, Macmillan, 1943. \$19.00

Jane's All the World's Aircraft, 1942, compiled and edited by Leonard Bridgman. New York, Macmillan, 1943. \$19.00

Invaluable is the only word adequately characterizing these annual classics of naval and air developments. Particularly useful right now because, despite the great difficulty of assembling the information in war years, they contain more accurate details than are to be found in any other single source.

The Italian Conception of International Law, by Angelo Piero Sereni. New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. \$5.50

A technical and apparently exhaustive study of value for the general student, showing the Italian origin and development of many international rules and procedures.

A Steel Man in India, by John L. Keenan, with the collaboration of Lenore Sorsby. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943. \$3.75

This is a different book on India—a fresh, vigorous account of a quarter of a century spent in that country by a Gary steel man who became general manager of Tata's, India's largest steel plant. Mr. Keenan's sympathetic, practical approach throws considerable light on important aspects of the Indian problem.

Soul of Russia, by Helen Iswolsky. New York, Sheed & Ward, 1943. \$2.75

A far from impartial history of Christianity in Russia by a Catholic writer who believes Communism has had no effect on the spiritual vitality of the Church.

Free China's New Deal, by Hubert Freyn. New York, Macmillan, 1943. \$2.50

A factual discussion of the economic side of China's war effort. The material, in large part based on official statistics, is presented both topically and by provinces.

For a survey of twenty-five years of the general attitude and policy of the Catholic Church, as well as a record of the Vatican's relations with Italy, Spain, Germany and the U.S.S.R., READ—

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE VATICAN by Sherman S. Hayden

25¢

January 15 issue of FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS
REPORTS are published on the 1st and 15th of each month.
Subscription \$5; to F.P.A. members, \$3.

Meet the Arab, by John Van Ess. New York, John Day, 1943. \$3.00

Shrewd analysis, lightened by personal reminiscences, of the Arabs by a lifelong student and devoted friend of that people.

A Literary Journey Through Wartime Britain, by A. C. Ward. New York, Oxford University Press, 1943. \$2.00

Places marred or destroyed by bombings described with charm and that love which so many feel for British literary landmarks.

Czechoslovakia Fights Back. Washington, D.C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Cloth, \$3.00; paper, \$2.50.

Account of the effects of German occupation on the political, economic and religious life of Czechoslovakia based on the official sources of the government-in-exile.

The Displacement of Population in Europe, by Eugene M. Kulischer. Montreal, International Labour Office, 1943. \$1.50

A careful preliminary survey of the uprooted peoples of Europe that is essential in understanding the immensity of the post-war resettlement problem.

This Is Not the End of France, by Gustav Winter. London, Allen & Unwin, 1942. (Distributed in the U.S. by W. W. Norton, New York, 1943). \$4.00

One of the fairest and most interesting interpretations of French developments from Versailles to the capitulation of 1940. The author also assesses the forces at work for the restoration of a strong and republican post-war France.

The Air Future, by Burnet Hershey. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943. \$2.75

An interesting account of the technical, political and economic aspects of international air transport, but scarcely deserving of its sub-title, "A Primer of Aeropolitics."

The Russian Enigma, by William Henry Chamberlin. New York, Scribner, 1943. \$2.75

Interesting interpretation of Russia's historical development and the postwar outlook for Stalin's régime at home and in international affairs by an author who knows the U.S.S.R. well.

Crusade for Pan-Europe, by Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi. New York, Putnam, 1943. \$3.50

The first section of this book is an autobiography that gives an excellent picture of eastern Europe's aristocracy before World War I. Most of the volume, however, is devoted to the author's Utopian plans for a federated Europe.

The Pageant of Canadian History, by Anne Merriman Peck. New York, Longmans, 1943. \$3.00

A story of the land and people of Canada, written primarily for American readers who wish not a formal history, but a vivid picture of our northern neighbor.

The Battle Is the Pay-off, by Ralph Ingersoll. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1943. \$2.00

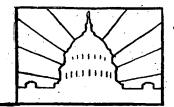
PM's former editor, in this dramatic story of the preparation for his first war action and the actual battle, explains feelingly the reality of war to both soldier and civilian.

FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN. Vol. XXIII, No. 14, JANUARY 21, 1944. Published weekly by the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated. National Headquarters, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. FRANK Ross McCoy, President; Dorothy F. Leet, Secretary; Vera Micheles Dean, Editor. Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Three Dollars a Year. Please allow at least one month for change of address on membership publications.

F. P. A. Membership (which includes the Bulletin), Five Dollars a Year Produced under union conditions and composed and printed by union labor.



# Washington News Letter



JAN. 17.—American continental solidarity has been strengthened by the steps taken by the nineteen anti-Axis republics to determine whether the Bolivian *junta* that seized power on December 29 has a fascist core. Perturbed by the animosity of the semi-fascist government of Argentina, these republics are developing an inter-American movement whose aim is to discourage all fascist parties and blocs.

SOLIDARITY AGAINST FASCISM. Argentina has recognized the Bolivian régime, but the anti-Axis republics have displayed solidarity in their agreement not to do so until information has been exchanged, through the usual diplomatic channels, to ascertain if inspiration for the Bolivian revolution came from outside the country. This exchange—proposed by Alberto Guani, Foreign Minister of Uruguay and chairman of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense—is nearing completion.

Complementing the Guani proposal, Mexican Foreign Minister Ezequiel Padilla suggested on January 12 that American diplomatic representatives confer on recognition of the Bolivian régime. Since Mexico's internal security is disturbed by the growing power of Sinarquismo - which Vicente Lombardo Toledano, head of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), has described as the fascism of Mexico —Padilla's suggestion was obviously intended to convey to Mexican and other non-Bolivian fascists that the Americas are united against them. Another reason advanced for this recommendation is the need for repudiating the Estrada recognition doctrine —which has guided the country in recent years and provides for continuity of recognition when governments change without reference to circumstances behind the change—if Mexico is to follow the course of solidarity. Since the informational exchange may provide sufficient basis for deciding the next step the anti-Axis republics will take, Minister Padilla's proposal has not yet been acted upon.

Dr. Enrique de Lozada, the junta's representative in Washington and its only friendly spokesman in this country, stated on January 15 that he approved the united American decision "to scrutinize the possibility of foreign anti-United States infiltration in Bolivia." A few days earlier—January 10—he stated that the junta's sympathy toward democracy and the United Nations was indicated by accepting the previous administration's declaration of war against Germany, cutting off quinine exports to Argentina, restoring the civil liberties suppressed by the Peña-

randa government, declaring it would hold free elections in May according to the constitutional term, restoring the legal rights of Jewish organizations, and taking steps toward recognition of the Soviet Union.

Because of the former friendship of some members of the Villaroel government with Nazis and fascist Argentinians, the State Department doubts the sincerity of these declarations. On January 7 Secretary of State Hull said that information available in Washington "increasingly strengthens the belief that forces outside of Bolivia and unfriendly to the defense of the American Republics inspired and aided the revolution." The "forces" he had in mind were Argentinian.

Meanwhile, the United States has from day to day been reducing its purchases of Bolivian strategic materials, and has suspended negotiations for revision of our tin contract with Bolivia—which is no longer our sole source of tin now that African ores are available. The revised contract, in its approved sections, provided for an increase of about three cents a pound in the net price of tin. Although the contract did not specifically direct it, the Metals Reserve Company had understood that this price rise was to be passed on as a wage increase to the tin miners.

NEXT STEPS? The problem raised by the Bolivian revolution is inter-American and Argentinian, rather than Bolivian. Mr. Hull's statement apparently was a warning that the United States would not recognize the junta, and the general acceptance of the Guani informational exchange plan suggested that Mr. Hull was stating the views of nineteen republics. In order to combat the régime in Argentina, which Washington suspects of plotting coups in Peru, Chile and Paraguay in order to fashion a strong South American bloc unfriendly to this country, the United States is also contemplating a more positive move than the passive decision not to recognize President Villaroel. Mr. Hull and his advisers have discussed tentatively the imposition of a general embargo on trade with Bolivia and Argentina, which might cause the overthrow of both Villaroel and President Pedro Ramirez of Argentina. But the United Nation's wartime economic dependence on Argentina—Britain's beef contract with Argentina runs until September, while the United States imports large quantities of Argentine wool, hides and linseed—complicates the making of decisions.

BLAIR BOLLES